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Cinderella in Korea: Korean Oikotypes of AaTh 510

The folktale *Cinderella* (AaTh 510) and its correlates (AaTh 510 B and AaTh 511) are attested in narrative traditions throughout most of the world, from France to China, from Germany to Korea. While the variants of the tale from most of these countries have been the subject of considerable academic study, the Korean variants, known as *K'ongjwi P'atjwi* (derived from the words meaning 'soy bean' and 'mung bean' respectively), remain in a state of relative obscurity. Marian Cox's[1] impressive compilation of AaTh 510 variants includes only one Japanese variant, and does not mention the Chinese tradition, first brought to prominence in western academic discussions by R. D. Jameson[2]. The Korean tradition is not represented. Anna Birgitta Rooth's[3] greatly expanded study of Cinderella variants considers only two east Asian variants, both from the Jameson lectures, and not a single Japanese variant. Her later revision of the work[4] provides only a slightly more balanced consideration of the east Asian traditions. More recently, Alan Dundes[5] compiled a series of articles in the Folklore Casebook Series, presenting both a historical and geographical view of the progression of *Cinderella* studies over the past century. Despite the breadth and comprehensive nature of all these studies, the Korean variants of the tale are not mentioned. Even Nai-Tung Ting's[6] complete and lengthy monograph on the Chinese and Indo-Chinese traditions makes only slight and misleading reference to the Korean tradition. The Japanese variants of AaTh 510 have been collected extensively, as evidenced by Kenichi Mizusawa's[7] collection and the forty variants listed in Ikeda's[8] tale type index, providing scholars relatively easy access to

1 Cox, Marian Emily Roalfe: Cinderella. Three Hundred and Forty-five Variants of Cinderella, Catskin and Cap o'Rushes Abstracted and Tabulated with a Discussion of Medieval Analogues and Notes. London 1893 (reprinted Nendeln, Liechtenstein 1967).
2 Jameson, R. D.: Cinderella in China [1932]. In: Cinderella: A Folklore Casebook. ed. Alan Dundes. New York/London 1982, 71–97.
3 Rooth, Anna Birgitta: The Cinderella Cycle. Lund 1951.
4 ead.: Askungen i öst och väst (Etnologiska institutionens småskriftsserie 12). Uppsala 1977.
5 Dundes (above, not. 2).
6 Ting, Nai-tung: The Cinderella Cycle in China and Indo-China (FFC 213). Helsinki 1974.
7 Mizusawa, Kenichi: Echigo no Shinderera (Echigo variants of Cinderella). Niigata 1964.
8 Ikeda, Hiroko: Type and Motif-Index of Japanese Folk-Literature (FFC 209). Helsinki 1971.

the Japanese tradition. Jameson, Arthur Waley[9], Wolfram Eberhard[10] and Ting's works have also increased the accessibility of the Chinese tradition[11]. Despite the growing recognition of the Japanese and Chinese traditions in *Cinderella* scholarship, the Korean tradition has been all but ignored. This may be in large part due to the paucity of Korean tale variants in translation[12].

In the Korean tale type index, a total of ten variants in published collections are recorded, exhibiting both a wide geographic distribution as well as marked contentual variation[13]. In addition to these ten variants, one can add twelve variants from collections not considered by Choi, and twenty-two variants collected by myself in 1990[14]. A bibliographic survey of Korean folktale scholarship reveals only one work dedicated solely to the tale type[15], although the tale is mentioned in most surveys of Korean folk narrative tradition[16]. Ze U Yang's[17] investigation of the structure and elements of Korean folktales, based primarily on Vladimir Propp's[18] morphology, presents an interesting comparison of the Korean tale and the variant found in Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*[19]. It is apparent, however, that Yang did not have many Korean variants of the tale at his disposal.

9 Waley, Arthur: The Chinese Cinderella Story. In: Folklore 58 (1947) 226–238.

10 Eberhard, Wolfram: Typen chinesischer Volksmärchen (FFC 120). Helsinki 1937.

11 The Philippine versions of the tale are addressed in: Gardner, Fletcher: Filipino (Tagalog) Versions of Cinderella. In: Journal of American Folklore 19 (1906) 265–280.

12 For example, see the following collections of Korean folktales in translation which do not include AaTh 510: Gale, James S.: Korean Folktales: Imps, Ghosts and Fairies. Rutland 1963; Garin-Mikhailovskii, Nikolai Georgievich: Koreanische Märchen. Zürich 1948; Kim, Soun: The Story-Bag: A Collection of Korean Folktales. Rutland 1955; Park, Yangjun: Traditional Tales of Old Korea. Seoul 1974.

13 Choi, In-Hak: A Type Index of Korean Folktales. Seoul 1979.

14 The following collections were consulted in compiling this article: Anonymous in: Korea Review 1 (1906) 116; Chang, Duk Soon: Folk Treasury of Korea. Seoul 1970; Cho, Tong-Il and Hŭi-Ung: Kyŏngki P'yŏn (Kyŏngki Volume). In: Hanguk Kubi Munhak Taekye (Outline of Korean Oral Traditional Literature) 1, 9. Seoul 1984; Cho, Tong-Il et al.: Kyŏngnam P'yŏn (Kyŏngnam Volume). ibid. 8, 8. Seoul 1983; Cho, Yun-Che: Hanguk Haksa (Chronicle of Korean Studies). Seoul 1949; Choi, In-Hak: Hanguk Sŏlhwaron (Essay on Korean Tales). Hanguk Minsokhak Ch'ongsŏ (Korean Folklore Series) 2. Seoul 1982; Chŏn, Yŏng-T'aek: Chosŏn Chŏllae Tonghwa Jib (Collection of Traditional Chosŏn Fairy Tales). Seoul 1949; Chu, Wang-San: Chosŏn Kotae Sosŏlsa (A Chronicle of Ancient Chosŏn Short Stories). Seoul 1950; Ha, Tae Hung: Folk Tales of Old Korea. Seoul 1962; Im, Dong-Kwon: Hanguk ŭi mindam (Korean Folk Tales). Seoul 1972; Kim, Ch'ung-Hŭi: Kyongki P'yon (Kyongki Volume). In: Hanguk Kubi Munhak Taekye (Outline of Korean Oral Traditional Literature) 1, 4. Seoul 1979; Kim, T'ae-Jun: Hanguk Kochŏn Munhak (Korean Ancient Literature) 3. Seoul 1973; Lee, Wŏn-Su/Sŏn, Tong-In: Hanguk Chŏllae Tongwha Jip (Collection of Traditional Korean Fairy Tales). Seoul 1980; Pyon, Yong-tae: Tales from Korea. Seoul 1946; Yu, Ch'ang-Kyun: Chŏnbuk P'yŏn (Chŏnbuk Volume). In: Hanguk Kubi Munhak Taekye (Outline of Korean Oral Traditional Literature) 5, 1. Seoul 1979.

15 Lee, Kwan-Il: K'ongjwi P'atjwi Iyagi Chaego (A Reconsideration of the K'ongjwi P'atjwi Story). Seoul 1972.

16 For example see Chu (above, not. 14); Cho 1949 (above, not. 14).

17 Yang, Ze U: Strukturen und Elemente koreanischer Volkserzählungen. In Hinblick auf die Volksreligionen in Korea und im Vergleich mit den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm. Frankfurt am Main/Bern 1981.

18 Propp, Vladimir: Morphology of the Folktale [1928]. Translated by Louis A. Wagner. Austin 1968.

19 Grimm, Jacob and Wilhelm: Kinder- und Hausmärchen 1–3 (Ausgabe letzter Hand Göttingen ^{7}1857). ed. H. Rölleke. Stuttgart 1980.

While Yang attempts to arrive at a morphology of the Korean tale, he works almost entirely within the framework of a system devised for the Indo-European tale tradition in general, and most suited for the study of European tales. This paper attempts to begin the process of developing an approach to the Korean tale which includes considerations of the unique aspects of the Korean cultural construct.

The tale of *K'ongjwi P'atjwi* is perhaps the most popular of all Korean folktales. It at least generates the most name recognition, as a short survey in the subways of Seoul proved—of over three hundred people asked, all responded that they knew the story of *K'ongjwi P'atjwi.* There are three main types of the Korean tale. These approximate, in turn, Rooth's Type B (AaTh 510 A, KT 450, Eb 32, Ik 510 A), Rooth's Type AB (AaTh 510 and 480, KT 450, Eb 32), and a third type which is related to the Korean tale, *Haellim Tallim* (AaTh 330, KT 100)[20]. For the sake of clarity, these tales will be referred to as types one, two and three.

The greatest number of tale variants are type one tales. A brief trip through the six provinces of South Korea resulted in the collection of sixteen type one variants. Along with the seven variants of this type mentioned in Choi[21] and one from the oral narrative collection project, *Kubi munhak taekye*[22], this comprises a total of twenty-four type one tales. Of the remaining variants, nine are type two and six are type three. The four remaining variants are accounts of the *Changhwa Hongryŏn* tale, which deals with the revenge killing of a stepmother who has caused the death of her husband's daughters through false accusations of adultery. The substitution of the names *K'ongjwi* and *P'atjwi* for *Changhwa* and *Hongryŏn* is an interesting indicator of the tradition participants' interpretation of the tales. The common factor between the tales is the triumph of the filial daughters over the trickery of the second wife and her non-filial children. As such, these tales are closely related to the type two tales[23].

Type one tales (Rooth's type B) tell the story of K'ongjwi, whose mother dies while she is still a young girl.

> K'ongjwi is beautiful, of a kind demeanor and filled with filial piety towards her father and departed mother. Her father remarries and his new wife brings her mean and ugly daughter, P'atjwi, to live with them. K'ongjwi is mistreated by her stepmother and stepsister, who receives beautiful clothes and delicious foods from her mother. One day, K'ongjwi and P'atjwi are sent out to work in the fields—K'ongjwi is sent out with a wooden hoe to a giant rocky field, while P'atjwi is sent to a well-turned field with an iron hoe. The one who returns first is promised a delicious dinner while the straggler is promised a beating. K'ongjwi, ever eager to please, sets to the impossible task, but soon her deficient hoe snaps and, disheartened by her

20 The abbreviations AaTh, KT, Eb and Ik, refer to Aarne, Antti: The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography. Translated and enlarged by Stith Thompson. Second revision (FFC 184). Helsinki 1961; Choi (above, not. 13); Eberhard (above, not. 10); and Ikeda (above, not. 8) respectively.

21 Choi (above, not. 13).

22 Yu (above, not. 14) 361–363.

23 Choi (above, not. 13) p. 196. He mentions three variants of the Changwha Hongryŏn tale in his index.

bad fortune, she begins to cry. Much to her surprise, a dark cow—her dead mother reincarnate—descends from heaven and helps her complete the task. The cow instructs K'ongjwi to bathe in a nearby river while it works the field with its horns or hooves. On K'ongjwi's return, the cow provides her with food—either cakes or fruit. When K'ongjwi returns home, the door is locked, and she is forced to bribe her sister with the food to let her in. The stepmother cannot believe that K'ongjwi has completed the task, and suggests that the food is a gift from an illicit lover.

Soon, word comes that a feast is to be held at the house of K'ongjwi's departed mother's family *(oi ka)*. Not surprisingly, K'ongjwi is told that she may not attend until she completes two or three difficult tasks. She is told to weave, wash or spin three *mal* of hemp, dry and husk three to ten bags of rice, millet or barley, and fill one or two perforated jars with water. She is helped by a talking toad or turtle that blocks the bottom of the jar(s), a flock of sparrows or magpies who use their wings to dry the grain and their beaks to break the husks, and a cow who chews the hemp and spins it out its anus. Once the tasks have been completed successfully, K'ongjwi prepares to attend the party. Needing clothes, she either reaches into the cow's anus, is instructed on where to find them by a fairy, or sees the clothes fall from the sky. Of particular importance are the shoes K'ongjwi receives which are described as *kkot' shin*, silk slippers delicately embroidered with flower motifs. Dressed in this finery, she departs for the feast.

On the way to the feast, she is frightened by a scholar's loud and ostentatious procession. To avoid the procession, K'ongjwi takes a difficult path over a gurgling stream, and loses one of the slippers into the water. The scholar finds the shoe and is taken by its beauty, announcing his intention to marry its owner. He sends one of his secretaries out to find the person whose foot fits the slipper. When the secretary arrives at the feast, P'atjwi's mother pushes her daughter up to try on the slipper, but her foot is too fat. The shoe fits K'ongjwi's foot perfectly and the scholar marries her. At the end of the tale, P'atjwi and her mother often are punished, usually by death. Otherwise they are sheltered in K'ongjwi's residence.

While this brief overview summarizes the main points of the tale, it is highly agglomerative and by no means acts as an adequate reflection of the tale as performed in tradition. Two of the most complete variants of the tale were collected in the summer of 1990, one in Suwŏn, approximately thirty miles south of Seoul, and another in a small seaside village on Cheju island[24]. While either account would provide an insight to the dynamics of folktale performance, Shin Ji Yŏng's account will suffice for the following discussion[25].

"This is a story from the Choson era. K'ongjwi was a girl and she had a mother and she had a father. She was called K'ongjwi. The family was really Buddhist. It was sort of like a Yangban family. And so, and so K'ongjwi's mother really liked

24 For a discussion of this village, see Tangherlini, Timothy R./Park, So Yŏng: The Ritual Landscape of Sunshine Village, Cheju-Do at Lunar New Year. In: Korea Journal 28 (1988) 21–36; iid.: The Comings and Goings of a Korean Grandfather: The Yŏngdŭng Kut Sequence of a Cheju Island Village. In: Korean Studies 14 (1990) 84–97.

25 Shin Ji Yŏng is a twenty-five year old mother of one from Kyŏnggido. She lives with her husband and child in a three bedroom apartment in a small city south of Seoul. The story was told in the evening with four people present. The performance was voluntary but primarily for my benefit. Her son listened attentively to the story, while her husband's friend (a thirty-one year old male) commented on her performance and tried to interject comments into the story.

K'ongjwi, after K'ongjwi was born, and then K'ongjwi was born and now the mother dies. And so the father had to go away, you know, he had to go away to work and so there was going to be nobody to take care of the house, and so he wanted to get a nanny, a really nice nanny to come but all the neighbors said K'ongjwi needed a mother, and so the villagers arranged a marriage, you know, they made a match. And so K'ongjwi's dad met P'atjwi's mother ... stepmother ... and then they moved in together and were married. P'atjwi's mother ... the stepmother brought along her daughter who was called P'atjwi. And the man had a daughter, you know, K'ongjwi, and so they were all living together. K'ongjwi was really, really devout, kind and P'atjwi, who the stepmother brought along, was really, really bad. P'atjwi was bad and K'ongjwi was really good. K'ongjwi is the older sister and P'atjwi is the younger sister. And so ... P'atjwi is a really ill-natured person and never listens to anybody ... and the mother, what do you say ... her disposition ... she's on the bad side. The mother. She's a bad person. She only makes K'ongjwi work and she gives P'atjwi a lot to eat, but she doesn't give K'ongjwi much to eat, she only makes her work a lot. One day ... So they live like that and then K'ongjwi's father returns home. His trip is over. Since the father is home, P'atjwi's mother becomes really nice ... she becomes very friendly. And then one day the father has to go away again. And so he goes ... and one day K'ongjwi's mother ... P'atjwi's ... K'ong ... the stepmother, the stepmother tells K'ongjwi ... well, in our country we have these giant jars to put water in and so you can store it and drink it ... well, anyways she tells her to fill it up, to fill it all the way up, but there's a hole in the bottom so no matter how much you fill it up, it leaks out, you know, she fills it carrying the water with great difficulty and it just runs out, out of the bottom. This jar, no matter what you did, you couldn't fill it up and then later, Hananim ... yeah, later Hananim sends an animal to her, a toad, it's a toad right, the toad tells her to put it in the jar, and to put it in the jar and then it can be filled with water. So she does this. When the mother comes and sees this, that the jar which can't be filled with water is filled with water. She thinks it's really strange. And so she gives K'ongjwi some different work to do. She tells her to do some other work. What, you may ask. Well she tells K'ongjwi to, well there's a field and she gives her a wooden hoe. It's a really rocky field and there are all these big rocks there. And so there are so many rocks it's really hard to walk there and there are no flowers there and then all of a sudden this [audience: mole] no, not a mole, a cow, a cow appears ... And so Hananim sees what's happening and sends the cow who completely hoes the field. And then the cow disappears. And so the stepmother comes and takes a look, and the field was completey cleared and she thought this was really strange and she asked K'ongjwi how she did it and she tells her of the cow that appeared all of a sudden and did it. But the stepmother didn't believe her because she was really evil, but people with a nice disposition would have believed her. And so it went on, and K'ongjwi had to do hard work and wasn't given much food and then one day the Kuwŏl king had his birthday, and because it was his birthday, for his birthday he invited all the maidens, you know, all the ones from the area, he invited them all to a feast. He invited all the maidens because he had a son and he wanted the son to get married. And so they all came together. And it was because the king had invited all of them to the feast to play.

'I want to go too', K'ongjwi said.

And P'atjwi got really beautiful new clothes and the stepmother got really beautiful new clothes and then they left, but they told K'ongjwi that she couldn't go. 'You husk all of this rice'. You know when you get rice you have to husk it to get the hulled grain *[ssal]*. And she had been given so much rice to husk that there was no way to do it even if you worked for a whole day. And so the mother told K'ongjwi to do this if she wanted to go. And since she liked P'atjwi, the stepmother and she put

on their nice new clothes and left. To the king's birthday feast. K'ongjwi works really hard, but there's no way she can do it. And then all of a sudden, this old woman appears, it's her dead mother ... grandmother. And so this old woman appears ... oh wait, before she appears, these swallows come down, a whole bunch of them, and they start to eat the grain, they're husking it with their beaks and they get the hulled rice, all of it. And so the rice is all husked and all the preparations are done. And K'ongjwi's clothes are really dirty and ugly and so this old lady is really worried. K'ongjwi is really nice and since she really wants to go to the king's birthday feast, she says that she can go and gives her clothes ... beautiful clothes fall down. Hanbok. Really beautiful and K'ongjwi goes to the king's feast. And she's really beautiful and everybody at the feast thinks she is really beautiful. And her stepmother doesn't recognize her. And she goes about and meets and greets all the people ... K'ongjwi greets everybody. And then ... Well, on the way to the feast she's crossing a stream and she loses a shoe, a rubber shoe ... no, a *kkot' shin* ... into the river. And the king's son. The son sees K'ongjwi ... wait, he finds the shoe and he wants to find the owner. 'Whose shoe is this? I want to meet her.' ... Oops, wait, this is all messed up. This sounds like Cinderella. Wait. The prince doesn't see K'ongjwi. The prince finds the shoe that K'ongjwi loses on the way to the feast. He says, 'Whose beautiful shoe is this? I am going to marry the shoe's owner.' And so, he says that he is going to marry the person who the shoe fits. And he goes all around the area and finally he comes to K'ongjwi's house. And when he gets to K'ongjwi's house, he proclaims if the shoe's owner is here for her to come out.

'I am going to marry the owner of this shoe.'

That's what he says. And because it would be so good to marry the king's son, P'atjwi says that the shoe is hers. But P'atjwi is really fat and it won't go in. And when it won't go in, P'atjwi's mother, who is really skinny, says:

'That's my shoe. Try it on me.'

And the stepmother puts the shoe on. But when the stepmother puts the shoe on, she's so skinny it just sort of flaps around on her foot. And then K'ongjwi is out doing the wash and she comes back.

'Who's that woman?'

'She's our girl.'

'I want her to try the shoe.'

'But she doesn't own shoes like that.'

'I want her to try it anywise.'

And so she tries it and it fits perfectly. And then that old lady comes down again and gives K'ongjwi the clothes and shoes. And so K'ongjwi and the prince get married and everybody and the prince insist that the stepmother should be punished. Everybody says that. But K'ongjwi is so nice she says, 'No, let's all live together in one house.' And that day the father came back from his business in Seoul and everyone moves in together and live together really well."

Bengt Holbek[26], in his important work on the interpretation of fairy tales, foregrounds three main societal oppositions, originally discussed by Elli Köngas-Maranda[27], which are mediated by the fairy tale. These are high status/low status, male/female, and young/old. Through the process of the fairy tale, each of these oppositions is successfully mediated in the hero's or heroine's eventual marriage.

26 Holbek, Bengt: Interpretation of Fairy Tales: Danish Folklore in a European Perspective (FFC 239). Helsinki 1987.

27 Köngas-Maranda, Elli/Maranda, Pierre: Structural Models in Folklore and Transformational Essays. The Hague/Paris 1971.

Holbek's analysis, which relies a great deal on Propp's morphology and centers on the syntagmatic unit of the move, is limited to the particulars of European tradition. Therefore it is in need of modification if it is to be used on non-European traditions. While such an analytical system seems eminently suited to an evaluation of the Korean *Cinderella* tale, a fourth mediated opposition exists, which is not found in the European tradition, namely the opposition of filial/nonfilial. The ensuing analyses of the three types of the Korean *Cinderella* tale will help illustrate the necessity of this fourth category if we are to present a tenable interpretation of the tales at hand. One should keep in mind that the goal of the folklorist is to present an analysis of culturally relevant meaning, in the hope of understanding what the tale means to the people who tell it. Therefore, an inclusion of the Confucian informed concept of *hyo to* or filial piety is important in the analysis of the Korean fairy tales as Korean cultural expressions.

The importance of family relationships and the family hierarchy are integral aspects of Korean tradition[28]. Although one may be tempted to attribute this importance solely to the pervasive influence of Confucian ideology on all levels of Korean society, the roots of the familial hierarchy may be linked to other aspects of folk belief as well. One should note that filial piety and its observance are fundamental elements of Korean social structure and are expressed as an important quality in Korean folklore. *K'ongjwi P'atjwi* is no anomaly, and the importance of family, filial piety and the familial hierarchy all play central roles in the tale. K'ongjwi is the oldest daughter of the first wife and, more importantly, the biological daughter of the father. Conversely, P'atjwi is the daughter of the second wife, is younger than K'ongjwi and has no biological connection to the father. In the functional Korean family, therefore, K'ongjwi would be accorded the most honored role among the children—although a male child would certainly usurp this position. Both P'atjwi and the new wife would have significantly diminished status levels in this familial hierarchy. P'atjwi would certainly be expected to both defer to her older sister as would, to some degree, the new mother. Hints of this functional order are gleaned from the tales. Several informants mention that, "while the father was around, the stepmother was always nice to K'ongjwi": "Oh, my lovely K'ongjwi, have some food ...", says one stepmother on noticing the husband nearby (variant 17). It is of great significance that K'ongjwi is often described as being extremely filially devoted to both her biological parents and also to her new stepmother. In several variants, the narrator notes that the father finds a new wife to take care of K'ongjwi. Thus, the stepmother owes her new status entirely to K'ongjwi. A widow with a grown child is by no means considered a 'good catch' for any Korean man, and the second marriage represents a significant rise in status for the new wife.

K'ongjwi's new family, however, is fundamentally dysfunctional. None of the familial relationships play out as one would expect in a traditional Korean family

[28] Janelli, Roger L. and Dawnhee Yim: Ancestor Worship and Korean Society. Stanford 1982.

under similar circumstances. A main aspect of the story is negotiating this familial dysfunction through the reestablishment of an acceptable familial order. As we will see, all four of the categories outlined above—the three suggested by Holbek—and the filial/nonfilial opposition, are mediated successfully through the tale process, with primary emphasis being placed on the categories filial/nonfilial and high status/low status.

At the outset of the majority of the type one tales, K'ongjwi is seen living a somewhat blissful existence along with her parents—she is devoted and obedient. Even after the untimely death of her mother, K'ongjwi remains devoted to her father, and undoubtedly carries out the prescribed rituals for honoring her dead mother. The introduction of the new and evil stepmother can in some regards be interpreted as an inadvertent betrayal of K'ongjwi by her father. Although his goal to provide a mother for K'ongjwi is understandable, the suggestion that a substitute for her mother can be found undercuts to a certain degree the devotion K'ongjwi feels towards her departed mother. The stepmother cannot provide an adequate outlet for K'ongjwi's devotions, and although K'ongjwi strives to please her new mother to the same extent that she pleased her real mother, K'ongjwi cannot but fail in her attempts.

A primary goal of a mother in the traditional Korean family is to arrange a successful marriage for her daughter. All mothers strive to present their daughter as eminently suited for marriage. Thus, it is not surprising, in the role of dysfunctional mother, that K'ongjwi's stepmother attempts to present K'ongjwi in the worst possible light—her main motivation is to prove K'ongjwi unsuitable for marriage. It is also understandable that the mother tries to enhance P'atjwi's marriage possibilities, as she is her biological daughter. However, having entered the household, it is also her responsibility to help the daughter of her husband. Instead, the opposite is true. K'ongjwi, we know, is extremely filial and, at the same time, remarkably beautiful and of a kind disposition. All of these qualities point towards her qualifications as a bride. In contrast, P'atjwi is described as ugly, mean spirited and, just as important, not inclined to adhere to her role within the familiy hierarchy. The stepmother's attempts to discredit K'ongjwi as a suitable bride begin long before the important slipper test.

Each of the difficult tasks assigned to K'ongjwi constitute an aspect of domestic labor that is marked as female in the traditional Korean farming community. These tasks include weeding a field, filling a water jar, shucking grain and spinning hemp. In each case, a normal domestic task is redefined to take on absurd proportions, with a strict deadline often included. In short, the tasks assigned K'ongjwi are impossible. It may be helpful to examine each of these tasks in turn and try to achieve some understanding of their possible meaning. K'ongjwi's successful completion of each task is a step towards the ultimate mediation of the conflicts presented by the situation in which she finds herself.

Filling a cracked or bottomless water jar is often the first of three difficult tasks K'ongjwi must fulfill in order to attend the nearby festival. Along with the shucking of a huge amount of rice and the spinning of an enormous amount of hemp,

K'ongjwi is expected to perform the majority of her domestic tasks, albeit symbolically, within one sitting. The tasks combined are characterized as either unending or more fitting for completion in the span of a year or longer. As such, the difficult tasks presented in this section can be taken as a representation of the domestic output of a wife, within the span of lifetime. The collection of water and the husking of the rice are essential for the nutrition of the family members. The spinning of the hemp is a metaphoric representation of all her future domestic duties in providing clothes for her family and cloth for sale. Undoubtedly, to a Korean rural wife these tasks seem like unending chores. In K'ongjwi's case, they are made all the more unbearable by the implicit time limit set on their accomplishment. While domestic work, especially that connected to agricultural production, requires quick action to prevent spoilage or destruction by the elements or animals, none requires as strict a time limit as K'ongjwi's tasks.

The animal helpers who arrive to help K'ongjwi should also be considered significant. Apart from the cow, which I will discuss in greater detail, the animals who fulfill the helper function are decidedly non-domestic. Nevertheless, they are well-suited to the tasks at hand. The toad appears and helps K'ongjwi provide a bottom to the jar and, what was once impossible, becomes achievable. While under ordinary circumstances putting a toad in the water jar sounds like the antics of a disrespectful child, K'ongjwi's use of the toad serves an opposite purpose—successful completion of a task assigned to her by her mother. The birds who help K'ongjwi husk the rice are also negatively marked in the normal order. Their negative function in the agricultural realm drive K'ongjwi to call out in alarm when she first sees the birds attacking her carefully spread-out grain. K'ongjwi realizes that, if the birds are carrying out their normal role, all the grain will be lost and she will be punished by her stepmother. But, because inversions are common in the world of fairy tale, these birds are engaged in assistance rather than destruction. Once again, K'ongjwi is aided in fulfilling her duty as daughter and proving her suitability as a bride through the help of an inversion of the normal order. Just as the family hierarchy has been inverted in K'ongjwi's family, the natural order is inverted as a means for mediating and counteracting the negative social functions precipitated by this initial inversion.

The helpful cow is perhaps one of the most interesting helper figures within the *K'ongjwi P'atjwi* tradition and deserves close inspection. In most tales, both K'ongjwi and P'atjwi are sent out to tend fields—K'ongjwi, a large stony field quite distant from home and P'atjwi, a small, well-turned field quite close to home. To be consistent in her mistreatment of K'ongjwi, the stepmother provides her with an ineffectual wooden hoe, and P'atjwi with a shiny new steel one. The goal of the test is apparently to prove P'atjwi's fertility in comparison to her barren sister K'ongjwi. K'ongjwi arrives at the field and attempts to complete her task only to have her hoe break—sabotage on the part of her stepmother. The benevolent cow, however, appears mysteriously and agrees to help K'ongjwi in her endeavor. Often informants mention that the cow is in fact K'ongjwi's mother reincarnate who, because of her daughter's filial devotion, descends to

assist her. The stepmother relies on sabotage and the assignment of an impossible task to prove on an explicit level K'ongjwi's ineptitude in female marked agricultural tasks and, on an implicit level, her barrenness—both indications of her unsuitability as a bride. In contrast, K'ongjwi's mother appears as a cow to repudiate both of these suggestions. Contrary to the stepmother's wishes, K'ongjwi's exceptional ability at menial agricultural tasks and her remarkable fertility are highlighted. K'ongjwi's ability to bear fruit is underscored in her return to the locked house carrying fruits in her apron! Although P'atjwi has also completed her weeding, K'ongjwi's achievements, although reliant on supernatural aid, far outstrip this. Not only has K'ongjwi made an enormous rocky field fertile, the fertility is so notable that she can bring fruit home from the field that very day. Interestingly, K'ongjwi is forced to bribe P'atjwi with these fruit to gain entrance to the house. Possibly, this transference of fruit represents P'atjwi's continued attempts to usurp K'ongjwi's position as the most eligible bride in the family. It is significant that K'ongjwi receives help from her mother in the form of a cow. While Nai-Tung Ting suggests that the cow is not an honorable form for reincarnation within Buddhist philosophy, the reincarnation seems to be informed by indigenous folk beliefs as much as Buddhism.

The cow is an important domestic animal, providing both much needed strength to help in the plowing of fields, and much needed nourishment, in its milk and its meat. Unlike the negatively signed animals discussed above, the cow has only positive associations within the agricultural context—thus it at first seems to be an unlikely helper for K'ongjwi. However, when one remembers that the cow is K'ongjwi's mother, and that K'ongjwi is being rewarded for her filial piety, the motif of cow as helper begins to make sense. If one factors in the role of the stepmother as an inverter of familial hierarchy and the appearance of the cow to help K'ongjwi assert her position in the family, then the cow's role becomes more understandable. It should be noted that the task of hoeing the fields is separate from the three difficult tasks that K'ongjwi must complete in order to attend the feast.

The cow also reappears to help K'ongjwi spin the hemp and it is in this context that an expected inversion occurs. In a notable variant, the cow is able to chew the hemp and spin it out its anus (variant 23). While the cow is primarily a positively signed animal, one does not expect the anus to serve a positive function. The cow's anus may be considered a negative element just as the toad and birds are usually considered negative. Although one could argue that the cow provides important fertilizer for the field through its droppings, variant thirty countermands such an interpretation. After learning that K'ongjwi had managed to get delicious fruits from the cow's anus, P'atjwi seeks out the cow and asks for fruits. What she receives is slightly less tasty. Returning to the analysis of fertility, it may be useful to consider Alan Dundes' observations on the frequent equation of the anus and genitalia in folk expression[29]. For K'ongjwi, the cow bears fruit—a

[29] Dundes, Alan: Interpreting Folklore. Bloomington 1980, 40.

positive function, equivalent to giving birth. For P'atjwi, however, the cow only produces waste. While the stepmother tries to mark K'ongjwi as infertile, her biological mother reincarnate as cow marks her as fertile. Conversely, while the stepmother tries to mark P'atjwi as fertile, K'ongjwi's mother marks P'atjwi as infertile, by covering her with waste.

The clothes K'ongjwi receives from her magical helper are also noteworthy. The festival K'ongjwi desires to attend is either a gathering at her maternal uncle's house, or to honor the arrival of a young, well-liked scholar, magistrate or prince. The clothes K'ongjwi receives are an outward manifestation of her rise in status after completion of the difficult tasks. She moves from being marked as unsuitable for marriage to exceptionally qualified for marriage. Earlier, the stepmother takes pains to dress K'ongjwi as poorly and shabbily as possible. The clothes K'ongjwi receives are beautiful and a perfect fit as well. Most important among the items are the shoes. Most variants make reference to *kkot' shin*, delicately embroidered silk slippers. Often, girls embroider these themselves over a period of time in preparation for, and most likely, in expectation of their eventual marriage. One informant mentioned that it is every girl's dream to have *kkot' shin* for her wedding. The shoes, if not embroidered by the wearer herself are often presented as a gift by a male, often a sibling, from her immediate family. As such, the *kkot' shin* are a very visible and unique marking of the future and potential bride. That K'ongjwi's *kkot' shin* are exceptionally beautiful is no surprise, given both their magical source and K'ongjwi's bridal qualifications.

On her way to the feast, K'ongjwi loses a shoe into a river which she crosses while trying to avoid the ostentation and noise of the scholar or magistrate's passing procession. The loss of the shoe has several possible connotations. By losing a shoe, K'ongjwi has marked herself as either not quite ready for marriage or, more surprisingly, not suited for marriage. She may not be as good as her shoes suggest. There is a suggestion of indiscretion associated with the loss of the shoe—perhaps K'ongjwi is a bit footloose. The indiscretion of the slipper's loss is not lost on the tradition bearers, with two variants including how the stepmother chastises K'ongjwi for losing the *kkot' shin*. Often, K'ongjwi is accused of sleeping around for, in the words of one informant's stepmother, "how else could she have such beautiful clothes?" Nevertheless, it is precisely the seeming indiscretion and its accompanying implications of unsuitability for marriage which precipitate K'ongjwi's remarkably successful marriage.

K'ongjwi is a poor farming girl and her marriage expectations are rooted in that class. That her eventual husband is a scholar, magistrate or prince—a *Yangban*—represents a tremendous leap up the social ladder. It also confirms K'ongjwi's suitability for marriage. The discovery of the shoe is accidental—this anonymity meshes well with K'ongjwi's modesty and humble deference to people of higher social or family rank. It also allows the future husband to take the initiative. He, of course, immediately recognizes the importance of his catch when he fishes the shoe from the river. The shoe is such a remarkable expression of the traits of a perfect bride, that its owner must be that perfect bride.

In many of the European traditions, the lost shoe is made of glass and a scholar interested in a Freudian interpretation has little difficulty in reaching conclusions concerning its meaning. While the glass shoe motif is slowly creeping into Korean tradition, the motif of the *kkot' shin* is still the most culturally relevant. An informant from Cheju-do during her performance said, "these are *kkot' shin*. The glass shoe is something else. That's not in our story. That with the glass shoe, I don't know about that" (variant 17). The fitting of the shoe onto K'ongjwi's reluctant foot suggests an inversion of the typical wedding scene. Rather than taking clothes off, the groom is putting clothes on his bride. Also, it is K'ongjwi, who is sliding her body into a cavity proffered by her husband. This ultimate inversion, however, marks the end of K'ongjwi's inverted status. The oppositions are successfully mediated at this point, and the normal order obtains once again. K'ongjwi and the scholar are then wed. In several of the variants, before agreeing to the wedding, K'ongjwi seeks approval from her maternal uncle or father (depending on who is still alive), thereby emphasizing her adherence to the rules of family hierarchy and filial piety. In several variants, K'ongjwi does not seek vengeance on her evil stepmother and stepsister, but rather invites them to stay with her and her *Yangban* family. This is an odd action in the context of the Korean familial order, as the woman is usually wed out of her family into the groom's family. K'ongjwi's actions may be attributable to one of two factors. It could be the final expression of K'ongjwi's extreme devotion to her family. It could also stem from the interaction of contemporary European tradition and popular literary interpretations of the tale with the Korean oral tradition. Type two tales suggest that this latter possibility may be the case.

Type two tales (Rooth's type AB) do not conclude with the happy wedding, but rather continue the story.

> P'atjwi seethes with anger and, consumed with jealousy when she sees K'ongjwi's good fortune, plots revenge. When the scholar leaves town on business, P'atjwi appears at the house and convinces K'ongjwi to bathe with her. While bathing, P'atjwi drowns K'ongjwi and sinks her body in a lotus pond. She dresses as K'ongjwi and assumes her role in the household. The scholar, upon his return, is easily duped by P'atjwi, even though he inquires about her remarkable loss of beauty. P'atjwi has answers to all of his queries. One day, while passing the lotus pond, the scholar is impressed with the beauty of a flower growing there. He picks it and places it in his house. Every time P'atjwi passes the flower, it tears at her hair and face. Realizing that the flower is K'ongjwi's reincarnation, she burns it in the kitchen fire. The next day, a neighbor grandmother comes to borrow an ember, and discovers a pearl among the ashes. She conceals it in her skirt and brings it home. The pearl, a second reincarnation of K'ongjwi, tells the grandmother her story and asks her to invite the scholar for dinner. The scholar arrives at the dinner, but is incensed when he discovers that his chopsticks are of different lengths. Hidden behind a screen, K'ongjwi, reincarnated in her body, accuses the scholar of stupidity, "You can tell that chopsticks are different, but you can't tell that your wife has changed?!" she says. In one variant, this motif is trebled. The scholar realizes his mistake, K'ongjwi tells him the complete story, and P'atjwi is seized. In three variants, P'atjwi is chopped into small pieces, placed in a jar and sent off to her mother. The mother mistakes the meat as a gift of meat dishes from her

daughter and eats it with great gusto. When she has finished eating her daughter, she reads a letter which reveals the identity of the meat and dies. K'ongjwi and the scholar live happily ever after.

This summary provides a reasonable overview of the type two tales in general. However, as with the type one tales, it is necessary to provide a translation of an actual performance to fully appreciate the tale. Tale summarizing is never a substitute for a tale itself. Otherwise, tradition bearers would simply rattle off motif numbers from the Thompson index[30] rather than go through the trouble of actually performing an account. As a consideration to space, I provide here only a translation of the second part of the tale, starting with K'ongjwi's wedding to the *yangban*[31].

"And so the end of this was that K'ongjwi got married. After she got married, the scholar had to go somewhere and said while he was gone for her not to bathe. But if she did go to bathe, he said that she should not go in first.
'Older sister, older sister . . .'
'Why do you say that?'
'Let's go bathe.'
'Oh no, the scholar told me not to bathe.'
'No, the scholar just a bit ago told me to come here and take you to bathe.'
'No, he told me not to go.'
'No way. He said to go.'
So she agreed to go.
'Older sister, bathe first.'
'You go first. The scholar told me not to go first.'
'The scholar said for you to go first.'
K'ongjwi was bending over the pond, and then P'atjwi grabs her butt and easily tips K'ongjwi into the lotus pond. And so she died. P'atjwi went back to the house and the scholar had returned. And then when the husband came back, there was a small, dark and red-faced girl there.
'Wow, why is your face so pockmarked?'
'While I was waiting for Mr. Scholar I leaned against a buckwheat mat.'
'Why is your face so red?'
'While I was waiting for Mr. Scholar I leaned against a mungbean mat.'
'Why are you so short?'
'When the scholar came, I banged my head against the door frame!'
'Why are your feet so small?'
'When the scholar came, I caught my foot in the door.'
And so they were living together. And so the scholar went to the lotus pond, and there was a beautiful flower blooming there. He reaches out and cuts the flower and brings it home. When the flower sees the scholar it dances and sways, but when it sees P'atjwi it droops and so on. And whenever P'atjwi went through the door, it would pull her hair, when she went out it pulled her hair and when she came in it pulled her hair, and could she keep living like this? When she was going somewhere, she thought, 'If only that flower would leave, then I could live. If I get rid of that flower, then I can live,' and so she went out, and as she was leaving she said,

30 Thompson, Stith: Motif-Index of Folk-Literature 1–6. Copenhagen 1955–58.
31 This tale was collected in 1982 by researchers from the Korean Oral Tradition Research Center. The narrator is an eighty-four year old woman from Mæng-ri in Kyŏngsando.

'hey you bastard flower, what's up?' and she grabbed it and tossed it into the fire place. And it got completey burned. And then the neighbor old lady came by to take some embers.
'Take all the embers in the kitchen.'
In the ashes in the kitchen fire, red marbles were rolling about, and so she grabbed those bastards and left. And she left and she went—and she came and put them down and oh, a beautiful girl came out. She came out and said, 'You have to invite the scholar over for dinner. Otherwise I can't live.' That's what she said, and so it happened. And so the scholar was asked to come over the next morning. A chopstick is broken and put down on the table. And so when the scholar is eating, because one of the chopsticks is shorter, he keeps banging them on the table—bang! bang!—and because of this:
'God, these chopsticks! I don't understand why the girl switched them. These chopsticks don't match, take a look.'
And he looked up and there was K'ongjwi.

> 'Hey, what's this? This is crazy!' He looked up afterwards. 'It's not crazy', and she grabs him. 'I have to get revenge.' And then ... and then they went and killed P'atjwi. After they killed her, they made her mother eat her. They pickled it and made her eat her. And P'atjwi's mother was blind so she didn't know what she was eating. And so she said, 'Oh, this meat dish my daughter made so well,' and she said this and was eating rice and eating and eating, and afterwards one day she discovered an ankle and the head. 'Now you've eaten your child. Now eat the rest,' and she tosses it into her lap and rolling and tumbling she died. And then the scholar and K'ongjwi lived happily ever after."

The type two tales may be seen as an examination of the scholar's suitability for his marriage. The death of K'ongjwi at the hands of her stepsister immediately set the social situation back into the previous imbalance. The act highlights P'atjwi's complete lack of filial devotion. Whereas the P'atjwi of the type one tales gently fades away once the mediating marriage takes places, she comes back with a vengeance in the type two tales. The scholar's interdictions on bathing—do not bathe, if you must bathe, do not go first—have to be broken. That is what happens in folktales—interdictions exist to be broken. The result of the broken interdiction, K'ongjwi's death, is also predictable. It may be surprising that K'ongjwi is willing to violate the scholar's interdiction, as this is an impermissible act for the woman within the bounds of family hierarchy. However, it is P'atjwi who deceives K'ongjwi, by changing the words of the scholar from interdiction to command. In this case, K'ongjwi, as the perfectly filial daughter and obedient wife, has no choice but to obey the modified orders. P'atjwi's murder of K'ongjwi allows her to assume the place of K'ongjwi in the scholar's house—despite her unsuitability for marriage suggested by her failure at the shoe test, she now attains the goal of marriage, albeit only by substitution. The inversion of order is also apparent in the manner in which P'atjwi kills K'ongjwi—inverting her body by elevating her buttocks and pushing her head-down into the pond.

The scholar questions P'atjwi, who he mistakes for K'ongjwi, about her apparent loss of beauty. The responses P'atjwi provides present the illusion of extreme devotion. All she had done while he was gone, she tells him, was to wait tirelessly by the door, finally scarring her face on the hard mats. In her excitement

over his arrival, she essentially maims herself. The implication is that he is more important to her than her own health. In fact, just the opposite is true. P'atjwi is so lacking in devotion to her stepsister and, by extension, to the scholar, that she is willing to kill K'ongjwi to achieve her aims—a rise in social status, comprised of the movement from being young, poor and unmarried, to older, wealthy and married. What she lacks, and what is essential in Korean tradition, is the final move from nonfilial to filial. The explanations P'atjwi provides the scholar concerning her appearances make perfect sense in the realm of the folktale where everything is presented in the most extreme manner possible.

K'ongjwi's first reincarnation as a lotus flower resonates well with another traditional tale, the story of the lotus flower. In that tale, the daughter of the king of heaven drowns herself in a lotus pond to preserve her virtue. She reappears in the pond as a giant and animated lotus blossom. K'ongjwi does not drown herself to preserve virtue, but is rather drowned because of her virtue. The lotus blossom is an important flower in Buddhist teachings, and is taken to be a representation of the cleansed spirit. Lotus blossoms grow from the muddy and murky depths of ponds and represent a startling transformation from dirt and darkness into purity and brightness. Through chanting, the Buddhist is able to cleanse the spirit and reemerge as a lotus blossom. With this in mind, the bathing, death and reincarnation sequence presented in the tale become quite easy to interpret in a culturally relevant manner. The cleansing aspect of the bath and K'ongjwi's ultimate reincarnation as a spiritually clean lotus blossom indicate that K'ongjwi is absolved of the transgression of the interdiction imposed by the scholar. Although she has violated his wishes, and has been pushed to the murky depths of the pond, her spirit is pure and emerges in the form of the lotus flower. Fittingly, the scholar, who was once attracted to the beauty and purity of K'ongjwi, is also attracted to the lotus flower. He picks it and brings it into the house—a clear representation of a remarriage. Even in death, K'ongjwi is more suitable as a bride than her stepsister.

P'atjwi attempts to get rid of K'ongjwi yet again, this time through burning. Once again, Buddhist ideas resonate in the tale. After death, the Buddhist monk is cremated. Among the ashes of the monk, one finds a small, hard rock-like relic. This is called a *sari.* According to several informants, the larger the *sari*, the purer the spirit. K'ongjwi's *sari* is a giant marble, or even marbles—a sign of great Buddhist virtue. Her final reincarnation as herself underscores her enlightenment. The old woman who finds the *sari* and witnesses the human transformation of K'ongjwi's spirit is perhaps another representation of K'ongjwi's departed mother. She serves a mediating role for K'ongjwi, whose status has been removed—the old woman is also of low status, as suggested by her borrowing of embers from the scholar's kitchen. By inviting the scholar to her house, high status is brought together with low status. This allows K'ongjwi to confront her husband who has failed in his duties, represented by his failure to recognize P'atjwi's deception. This failure is foregrounded in the comical scene around the dinner table. One chopstick is deliberately broken, so as to make the pair

unmatched. Eating with unmatched chopsticks is unpleasant and to provide a guest—one of high status no less—with such imperfect utensils is an egregious breach of social etiquette. The two chopsticks symbolize the two stepsisters, with their vastly different aesthetic qualities and suitability for their functions. In several variants, K'ongjwi steps from behind a screen after the scholar complains about the chopsticks. She derides him for his failure, "What?! You can tell chopsticks apart, but you can't even tell when a woman is not your wife?!" The scholar quickly realizes his mistake, and K'ongjwi's status is restored.

In a marked break from the Buddhist values informing this section of the tale, K'ongjwi requires revenge. She and the scholar kill P'atjwi. But P'atjwi and her mother are not simply killed, but rather subjected to a particularly grisly representation of inverted filial piety. K'ongjwi carefully prepares P'atjwi as if she were a side dish and brings this to her blind stepmother. K'ongjwi, as filial daughter, carries out an odd inversion of the normal domestic task of preparing side dishes. P'atjwi, in her role as filial daughter, could be expected to provide food for her mother, but not exactly in the way she does. The stepmother marvels at the ability of her daughter to make such a good side dish, and eats it with great relish. At the end of her feast, K'ongjwi reveals herself to the stepmother and identifies the side dish. The stepmother's death suggests a final mediation of the filial/nonfilial opposition. The death represents a realization of her nonfilial acts and removes the potential for future acts from the social situation. K'ongjwi and the scholar live happily as the fully mediated and adjusted couple.

Type three tales follow the progression of the type one tales up through the assignation of the difficult tasks.

> K'ongjwi, despairing at her situation and the inevitable beating following her failure to complete the tasks, decides to take her own life, so that she can join her mother. Her extreme filial piety makes this act difficult, but a rope descends from heaven, and K'ongjwi ascends it. P'atjwi sees this, and jealous of K'ongjwi, calls to heaven for a rope of her own. However, her rope is rotten and, half way up, it breaks, plunging P'atjwi to her death on a field of Indian millet. Her blood splatters on the leaves of the Indian millet plants, thereby accounting for the splotches of red coloration on that plant.

The type three tales are not nearly as numerous as the type one and two tales. Furthermore, they do not include the missing shoe motif and seem closely related to the *Haellim Tallim* tale. Nevertheless, certain aspects of the tale resonate well with the type one and two tales. As in these other tale types, this type privileges the position of the filial/nonfilial opposition. K'ongjwi, despairing over her plight, muses over the possible ways to commit suicide. Suicide, however, is a nonfilial act and therefore extremely difficult for K'ongjwi to commit. The rope sent down from heaven, often from K'ongjwi's mother, is the ultimate reward for her filial devotion and adherence to the rule of the family hierarchy—she is reunited with her mother without having to suffer at the hands of her stepmother or, more importantly, without having to commit suicide. P'atjwi's subsequent violent death underscores the importance of filial piety in the traditional Korean

family. The nonfilial girl is brutally punished. Of the three tale types, type three is the one which most clearly presents its cultural meaning—filial piety is rewarded, while transgressions of the rules of familial organization are severely punished.

All of the Korean variants exhibit numerous similarities with the tales found in Ting and Ikeda. Like both the Chinese and Japanese variants, the heroine is the older sister, the daughter of a father who remarries. Uncommon names for the heroine and her antagonist are found in all of these traditions. For example, the Tibetan sisters are named 'Golden Flower and Silver Flower'[32] and the Japanese sisters are named 'Komebuku Awabuku'[33] or other permutations referring to flowers or beans. The Japanese motif of gathering chestnuts in a torn and whole bag closely parallels the hoeing found in the Korean variants. In both cases, the successful completion of the task by the heroine is seemingly blocked by the stepmother's provision of a non-functional tool. The difficult tasks assigned to K'ongjwi in the Korean tradition are also found in the Chinese and Japanese tales. Ting[34] notes that preparing flax, sorting seeds and filling perforated buckets or jars are all common motifs in Chinese folklore[35]. From Rooth's analysis of the tale type, it is apparent that similar motifs are also found in the Near Eastern traditions[36]. As mentioned, the Korean tradition shares with the Chinese tradition the motif of the dead mother reincarnated as a helpful cow; this motif is found in the Near Eastern traditions as well[37]. The other forms that the mother assumes—toad or turtle—find parallels in the Japanese tradition[38]. K'ongjwi receives her clothes in much the same way as her Chinese and Japanese counterparts, although reaching into the cow's anus is attested only in Korea. All three traditions often describe the shoes she receives as embroidered silk slippers.

Type two tales are also attested in the Chinese tradition and are referred to by Ting as the "Modern Chinese Tradition"[39]. These tales are found primarily in west China, Tibet and Shinhuang. They are completely absent from the Japanese tradition, according to Ikeda's index. In the Korean tradition, K'ongjwi is always drowned and her body dropped unceremoniously into a lotus pond. In the Chinese variants, the heroine is first reincarnated as a bird, then a plant, then an implement made from that plant. Although similar, K'ongjwi's progression of reincarnation is set in all variants as first a lotus blossom, then a pearl or marbles and, finally, her old body. As such, Korean tradition makes frequent allusion to Buddhist beliefs. This resonates well with the frequent allusion to the Buddhist

32 Ting (above, not. 6) 16.
33 Ikeda (above, not. 8) 137.
34 Ting (above, not. 6) 11.
35 Also see Doré, Henry: Researches into Chinese Superstitions. Shanghai 1914–26, for a discussion of Chinese folk belief.
36 Rooth (above, not. 3) 156 sq., 178.
37 ibid., 156.
38 Ikeda (above, not. 8) 138.
39 Ting (above, not. 6) 16.

devotion of K'ongjwi and her original parents in the opening situation of the tale. Particular to the Korean variants is the confrontation with her husband, who has been duped by P'atjwi's trickery, an obvious failing in his role as husband. K'ongjwi's accusation can be seen as an explicit challenge to the hero's suitability as a husband. His realization of his mistake and aid in the punishment of P'atjwi and the stepmother, coupled with the inevitable happy ending, suggest a successful refutation of the challenge of his suitability as a husband.

The punishment meted out to P'atjwi and her mother runs the gamut from none whatsoever to the gastronomical horror of P'atjwi's partitioned body served to her mother. Ikeda[40] mentions that the evil sister and her mother are often thrown into a mud paddy, a punishment not found in any of the Korean variants. However, Ting[41] mentions three variants, one Chinese and two Indo-Chinese, in which the stepmother is induced to eat her daughter's flesh, a close parallel to three of the Korean type two tales. The majority of the Korean tales, however, simply mention that P'atjwi and her mother are imprisoned or sent off to die. During collection, informants often did not relate the fate of P'atjwi and her mother until questioned specifically; the answers were often vague, which is somewhat surprising considering the exacting detail found in several variants, particularly those which deal with the grisly death of P'atjwi and her mother's subsequent ingestion of her daughter's flesh.

The Korean tradition appears to be more closely linked to the Chinese tradition than to the Japanese tradition. The type one tales bear marked similarities to what Ting[42] labels the "Ancient [Chinese] Tradition", after the early variant collected by Tuan Ch'eng Shih in Shantung in the middle of the ninth century. Although Ting[43] maintains that the introduction of the 'scholar' hero is uniquely Chinese, five Korean variants make specific use of a scholar hero. The status of the scholar is not low, as suggested by Ting[44], but rather quite high, a reflection of the Confucian values which inform a great deal of the Korean variants. The important position of indigenous religious and cultural values in the *K'ongjwi P'atjwi* tales reflect Yang's[45] view that religion plays a fundamental role in the oikotypification of tales in Korea. In the *K'ongjwi P'atjwi* tale, one finds motifs heavily dependent on aspects of Confucian ideology, Buddhist teachings and *mingan shinang*, indigenous Korean beliefs. The Confucian element is best expressed in the aspects of filial devotion which help in the juxtaposition of the heroine and her antagonist. Buddhist teachings and beliefs are hinted at in a number of performances, with the extreme devotion to Buddha of the father, mother and K'ongjwi included in the opening situation. The reincarnation of the mother as helpful cow, and the other reincarnations throughout the tale, also

40 Ikeda (above, not. 8) 138.
41 Ting (above, not. 6) 27.
42 ibid., 32.
43 ibid., 13.
44 ibid.
45 Yang (above, not. 17) 224 sq.

seem to rely on the Buddhist tradition for their particular form. Elements of *musok* are also prominent in the tale, both in its content, as evidenced by the appeal to the heavens found in numerous variants, and its performance, since informants are often village *manshin* or *shimbang*[46].

Ting[47] suggests that AaTh 510 is non-viable in north-east Asian tradition because of the conflict of essential motifs with the religious biases, primarily Buddhist, of the tradition area. He uses this argument to account for the lack of variants from this area, stating "outside the above-mentioned territory [south China], only stragglers—corrupt and confused variants—are found"[48]. Primarily, he mentions the irreconcilability of the motif of the dead mother reincarnated as a cow and the Buddhist belief that reincarnation as an animal is a reflection of poor Karma[49]. Apparently, this problem has not prevented the tale from gaining wide diffusion and popularity in Korea.

One of the notable aspects of the Korean tales is the role of the helpful cow, a motif found in the Chinese and Near Eastern traditions, but completey absent from the variants considered by Ikeda[50]. Of the forty-three Korean tales considered, twenty-four include a helpful cow. Most frequently, the cow appears to help K'ongjwi with her fieldwork. The cow also helps K'ongjwi spin hemp and stop the holes in the water jars. The cow's anus plays a prominent role in several of the Korean variants, being the provider of all sorts of wondrous fruits, cakes and even K'ongjwi's beautiful clothes. The cow's anus as a repository of all things good is perhaps a reflection of K'ongjwi's inverted social and domestic status. Although she is the daughter of the house master, she is treated with contempt and derision. Although she is the eldest child, she receives no respect from P'atjwi. Although she is the most beautiful, she is given dirty and ugly clothes. And although she is the most suitable bride, she is given tasks that are designed to showcase an incompetence in the domestic realm. Thus, receiving beautiful clothes and food from a cow's anus should be considered as a continuation of the inverted nature of K'ongjwi's existence.

As we begin to learn more about the tale traditions of the east Asian countries, the need for updating earlier conclusions becomes apparent. In her remarkable work on *Cinderella*, a difficult task the likes of which K'ongjwi never faced, Rooth stumbled on the lack of accessible tale variants from Pacific rim countries. Even Ting, in his thorough analysis of Chinese and Indo-Chinese tradition, was limited by the small number of accessible variants. Although Choi, Eberhard and Ikeda's tale type indexes have helped facilitate the accessibility of the Korean, Chinese and Japanese traditions and have contributed to increase the awareness among non-Asian specialists about the wealth of these traditions, a

46 For a discussion of the performative role of the shaman in Korean villages, see Kendall, Laurel: The Life and Hard Times of a Korean Shaman: Of Tales and the Telling of Tales. Honolulu 1988; and Tangherlini/Park 1990 (above, not. 24).
47 Ting (above, not. 6) 34.
48 ibid.
49 ibid., 37.
50 Ikeda (above, not. 8) 137–139.

great deal of unexplored territory still remains. Folktale performance is still common in Korea and collection efforts by numerous scholars and institutes are ongoing. Inclusion of the *K'ongjwi P'atjwi* tale in the *Cinderella* scholarship provides insight not only into the links among east Asian traditions and other tradition areas, but also into the unique and individual characteristics that make the variants considered Korean. It is my hope that the Korean oikotypes discussed here will help lead to an increased recognition of Korean tradition and scholarship in future comparative studies.

Appendix 1: Informants and Sources

Tale number	Source
1	Hahn Churl Mo, 52 yrs old, male, Hamkyŏdo
2	Kim Rae Hwan, 29 yrs old, male, Kyŏnggido
3	Shin Jee Yŏng, 25 yrs old, female, Kyŏnggido
4	Baek Sung Nam, 62 yrs old, female, Kyŏngsando
5	Kim Sun A, 15 yrs old, female, Kyŏngsando
6	Song Jae Ha, 69 yrs old, male, Kyŏngsando
7	Lee Won Shik, 82 yrs old, male, Kyŏngsando
8	Yun Ch'a Duk, 67 yrs old, female, Kyŏngsando
9	Kim Hyŏng Ku, 12 yrs old, male, Kyŏngsando
10	Pak Yong Sŏ, 80 yrs old, male, Kyŏngsando
11	Pak Dong Su, 12 yrs old, male, Kyŏngsando
12	Kwon Ku Yŏn, 12 yrs old, male, Kyŏngsando
13	Kim Jin Hŭi, 35 yrs old, male, Kyŏngsando
14	Im Su Jŏng, 10 yrs old, male, Kyŏngsando
15	Kim Hong Suk, 38 yrs old, female, Kyŏngsando
16	Im Sang Min, 13 yrs old, male, Kyŏngsando
17	Yang Chŭng Sun, 53 yrs old, female, Cheju Do
18	Nam Kyŏng A, 21 yrs old, female, Chollado
19	I Ki Hyŏn, 21 yrs old, male, Chollado
20	Yu Jong Ho, 26 yrs old, female, Kyŏnggido
21	Kim Yon Su, 27 yrs old, female, Kyŏnggido
22	I Sun Ye, 24 yrs old, male, Ch'ungch'ondo
23	Ch'oi P'an Sun, 67 yrs old, female, Chollado
24	I U Sang, 81 yrs old, female, Chollado
25	Sŏl Sam Ch'ul, 67 yrs old, male, Kyŏngsando
26	Kim 1979 (above, not. 14) 786–789
27	O Su Yŏng, 68 yrs old, female, Kyŏnggido
28	Kwon Un Sun, 84 yrs old, female, Kyŏngsando
29	Kim 1973 (above, not. 14) 305–340
30	Choi (above, not. 14) 218–221
31	Chŏn (above, not. 14) 40–52
32	Pyon (above, not. 14) 11–18
33	Ha (above, not. 14) 12–28
34	Chang (above, not. 14) 211–216
35	Lee/Sŏn (above, not. 14) 202–216
36	Kwon, 68 yrs old, female, Kyŏngsando
37	Anonymous (above, not. 14) 116
38–44	summarized in Choi (above, not. 13).

Appendix 2: Key to Motifs in K'ongjwi P'atjwi

These motifs are presented with alphabetical listings to avoid the overwhelming proliferation of letters and numbers that would have resulted if the *Motif-Index* were used[51]. Where possible, *Motif-Index* numbers which approximate the Korean motif are listed in parenthesis. Many of the motifs in this tale are not adequately described in the *Motif-Index*. This system has been chosen to provide consistency.

A – opening situation, evil stepmother and stepsister (S 31, S 34);
B – K'ongjwi told to turn field with wooden hoe (H 1124);
C – helpful cow turns field (B 411, B 184.2, D 681);
c1 – K'ongjwi told to wash by cow;
c2 – K'ongjwi receives food from cow;
c3 – P'atjwi is soiled by cow (K 1036.1);
c4 – P'atjwi is pulled through thorns by cow;
D – invitation to feast;
E – difficult tasks:
1 – fill bottomless jars (D 2199.1);
2 – husk grain (H 1091.2);
3 – spin hemp or flax (H 383.2.1, H 1092);
4 – turn field;
5 – make rice;
F – magical helpers:
1 – turtle (B 496.5);
2 – toad;
3 – swallows;
4 – magpie (B 451.6);
5 – cow;
6 – dead mother;
7 – fairy;
8 – snake;
9 – imp;
G – donor:
1 – fairy;
2 – cow;
3 – *Hananim* (N 817.0.1);
4 – dead mother;
5 – unnamed;
H – shoe lost;
I – shoe found by:
1 – scholar;
2 – magistrate;
3 – king;
4 – prince;
J1 – K'ongjwi recognized at feast, accused of adultery (H 151.6);
1b – recognized at feast;
J2 – K'ongjwi not recognized at feast;
K – shoe trial;
L – P'atjwi drowns K'ongjwi (Q 467.3, K 958, S 131);

51 Thompson (above, not. 30).

M – hero questions P'atjwi;
N – hero picks flower;
O – flower burned;
P – marbles or pearl found in fireplace;
Q – feast for hero, unmatched chopsticks (H 151.11);
R – K'ongjwi's reincarnation (D 431.1, E 29.4, E 745.4);
S – K'ongjwi prays for and gets rope from heaven (D 1582);
T – P'atjwi gets rotten rope from heaven (K 963);
W – K'ongjwi marries hero;
X – P'atjwi and mother punished:
1 – death;
2 – prison;
3 – unspecified;
4 – P'atjwi sent as food to mother (X 21);
5 – P'atjwi falls on mat, face pockmarked.

In the following synopses, motifs in paranthesis are ones solicited by the collector, those in brackets are ones corrected by the informant during performance. Ellipses denote hesitation and breaks in the performance.

Variants and their motifs

1. A D E1 F2 E2 F3 G2 H I1 K W
2. A E1 F2 E2 F3 E4 F5 G3 H I4 K W
3. A E1 F2 E4 F5 D E2 F3 G4 H I4 K W X2
4. A E1 F1 E2 F3 D H I1 K W
5. A E1 F2 E4 F5 D E2 F3 G4 H I4 K W X2
6. A B C E F2 . . . K W
7. A E1 F2 B C . . . K . . . W
8. (Changhwa Hongryŏn)
9. A E1 F2 E2 F3 E4 F5 G2 D H I3 K W
10. (Changhwa Hongryŏn)
11. A E1 F2 E2 F3 G1 D H I2 W X2
12. (Changhwa Hongryŏn)
13. A E2 F3 E1 F2 E4 F5 G1 H I4 K W X3
14a. A E1 F2 D G4 H I1 K W
14b. A D E1 E4 B C F2 G4 J2 H I3 K W
15. A E D E2 E1 F3 F2 G4 J2 H I2 K W (X3)
16. A D E F6 G4 H K W (X3)
17. A D E1 E2 F7 G5 J2 H I4 K W X1
18. A E1 F2 E2 F3 E4 F2 G5 H I2 (K W)
19. A E1 F2 G5 H I2 K W
20. A E1 F1 E2 F3 E4 F5 S T
21. A E1 F1 E2 F3 E4 F5 D G3 J2 H I4 K W
22. A E D G . . . K W
23. A E3 E1 E2 F5 F3 J1 [L] H I4 K W L M N R (X)
24. A E1 F2 . . . K W
25. A B C c2 D E3 E2 F3 F7 G1 H I4 J1 K W L M N O P Q R X4
26. A B C D E1 E2 F2 F3 G2 H I3 K W L M [Q] N O P Q R X2
27. A B C c2 D E3 E2 E1 F3 F4 F2 G7 J2 J1 L . . . X1
28. A B C c1 c2 E2 E3 E1 E5 F2 F8 F3 F4 G2 H I1 J1 K W L M N P R Q X4
29. A B C c2 E1 F2 D E3 E2 F3 F7 G1 H I2 K W L M N O P R Q X4

30. A D E1 F1 B C c2 C (P'atjwi) c3 E2 F3 B S T
31. A B C c1 c2 D E1 E3 E2 F2 F3 F7 G1 H I2 K W L M N O P R Q X2
32. A B C D E1 F1 E2 F3 G2 J2 J1 W L M N O P Qx3 R X1
33. A B C c1 c2 J1 E1 F2 D E3 E2 F3 F7 G1 H I2 J1 J2 K W L M N O P Q R X4
34. A E1 F2 B C D E2 F3 E4 S T
35. A E1 F2 B C D E2 F3 E4 S T
36. A B G5 W X5
37. A E1 E2 F3 F9 J1b C C c2 C (P'atjwi) c4
38. A B C c2 D E F2 F3 F5 J2 J1 H I2 K X3 W
39. A B C c2 D E F2 F3 F5 J2 J1 H I2 K X3 W
40. A B C c2 D E F2 F3 F5 J2 J1 H I2 K X3 W
41. A B C c2 D E F2 F3 F5 J2 J1 H I2 K X3 W
42. A B C c2 D E F2 F3 F5 J2 J1 H I2 K X3 W
43. A B C c2 D E F2 F3 F5 J2 J1 H I2 K X3 W
44. A B C c2 D E F2 F3 F5 J2 J1 H I2 K X3 W